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John Carter Brown.

Book No. 1

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The Author of this Book
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THE

IMPORTANCE

OF

GAINING and PRESERVING

THE

FRIENDSHIP

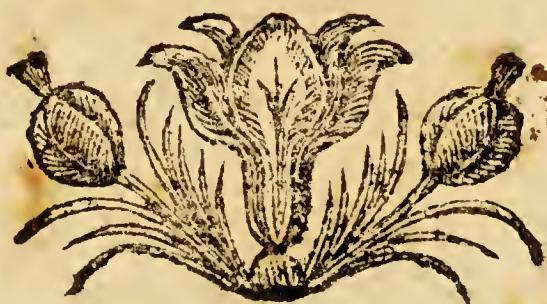
OF THE

INDIANS

TO THE

BRITISH INTEREST

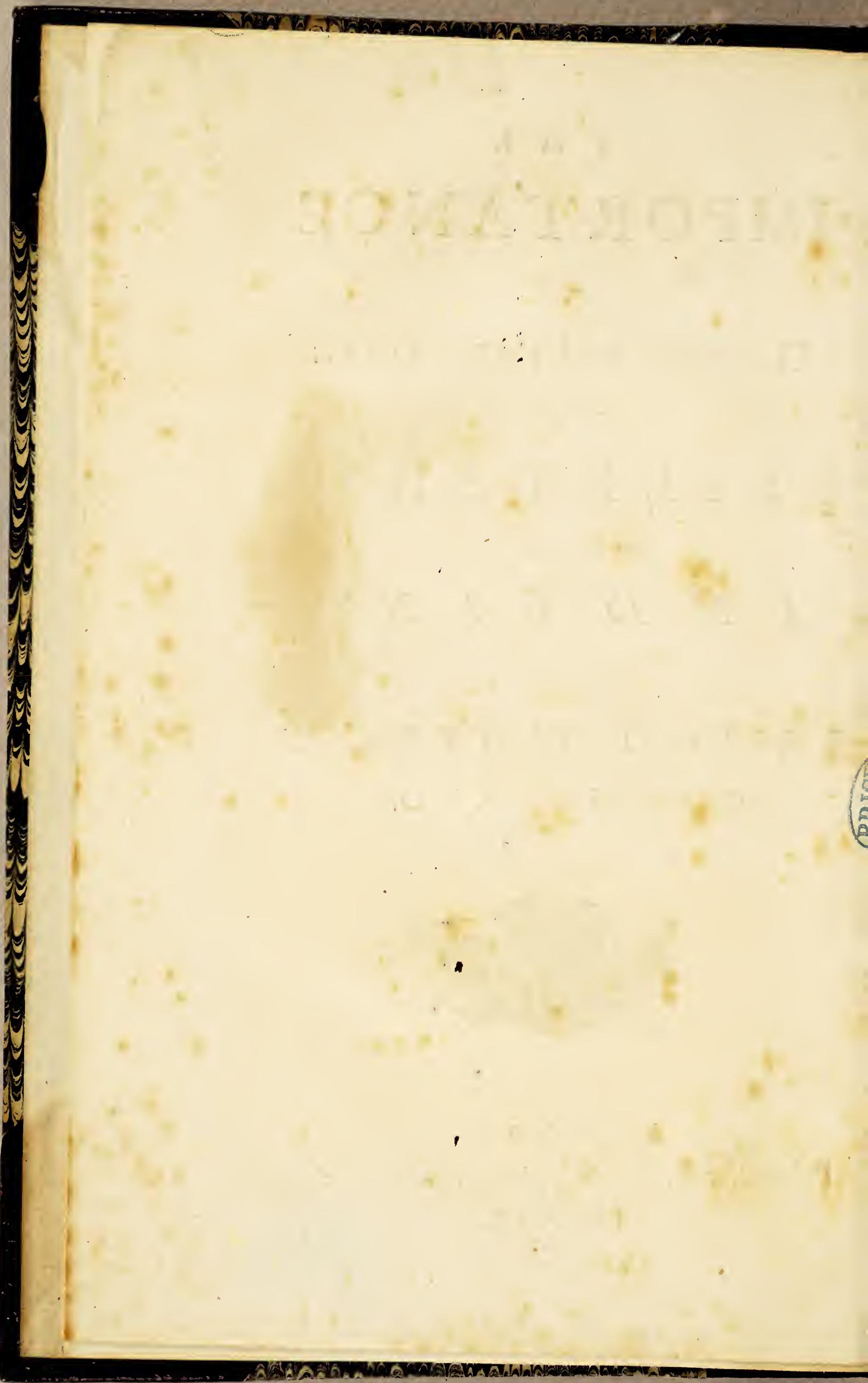
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M.DCC.LII,





THE
IMPORTANCE, &c.

JOHN CARTER BROWN



T is agreed, I think, on all hands, that the gaining and preserving the friendship of the *Indians* to the *British* interest, is of no small importance to the trade of *Great Britain*, as well as to the peace and prosperity of these colonies: and as I have not heard of any body, that has, as yet, attempted to put this matter in a proper light, I shall, with great submission, humbly offer my sentiments, in hopes they may induce some abler hand to undertake the task.

When the first ship arrived here from *Europe*, the *Indians*, it is said, were so well pleased, that they would have her tied to a tree, in order the better to secure her; but as cables were subject to rot, they would have it an iron chain, and this to be

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con-

continued into the *Indian* countries, that they might be the better able to keep their part of it clear from rust, as we were to keep our part. If the *Indians* were in distress or want, the call was, as it is at this day, to come and make clean, or renew the covenant chain ; and the Christians, on their part, were to do the like : and accordingly we have assisted them in their wars and wants, and they have assisted us in our wars, and we have their furrs.

This is the original contract and treaty of commerce with the *Five Nations*. And thus things went on tolerably well for some years, 'till the due execution of this treaty was committed to the care of a number of commissioners, mostly *Anglo-Dutch* traders in *Indian* goods ; who, together with a tribe of harpies or handlers, their relations and understrappers, have so abused, defrauded, and deceived those poor, innocent, well meaning people, that this treaty has well-nigh executed itself ; so that at present we have very few *Indians* left that are sincerely in our interest, or that can be depended upon. The fatal consequences of this management were severely felt in many

many instances last war, particularly in the case of *Saratoga*, *Schenectady*, &c. which could not possibly have happened had our *Indians* been sincerely our friends. And what fatal consequences must attend a continued neglect of *Indian* affairs; more especially as the *French*, our natural enemies and competitors in every corner of the world where we have any concern, are indefatigable in cultivating the friendship of their own *Indians*, and by all means and arts in their power, *per fas & nefas*, endeavouring to seduce those in the *British* interest; is apparent to the meanest capacity. Murders and desolation, upon the first breach, is one certain consequence; and I wish I could think this was all.

What to me is most surprizing, that, tho' there is hardly a colony upon the continent but what is a match for all *Canada*; yet, by a proper management of their *Indians*, they keep us all, both in time of peace and war, in a constant dread and terror.

As the *British* parliament seems at this time disposed to take these colonies under consideration, it is the duty, I conceive, of every

every member of the community to throw in such hints as he conceives may be of use upon this occasion ; and it is to be hop'd there are those amongst us of capacity, leisure and publick spirit, sufficient to model them into a proper shape, for the perusal of that august assembly. An honest detail of facts, and a fair view of the importance of the subject, is all that I shall endeavour at, at present. It cannot be doubted but that the government at home would assist us effectually, were our situation and circumstances but perfectly known to them, and proper methods proposed ; because it is really their interest.

I do not mean here to put the crown and the people of *England* to any great expence about us, further than that of one single officer, as superintendant of the whole, who may have no connection either with the trade or people of the country ; and some artillery. The crown already has expended many and great sums to make us what we are ; and the people of *England* are already sufficiently loaded with taxes ; whereas we hardly know what they mean. The colonies therefore, jointly,

ly, it is to be hop'd, will willingly contribute towards whatever expence may attend a proper regulation of our trade and frontiers; if not willingly, let us not despair but that a *British* parliament will oblige them. It is high time we should look to our own security, and most unnatural to expect that we should hang for ever upon the breasts of our mother-country: we are sufficiently able, and must be made, some of us I doubt at least, willing. Whatever pretences may be made, it is absolutely true, that the preservation of the whole continent depends upon a proper regulation of the *Six Nations*, and the security of the frontiers of *New York*, both to the northward and southward. I therefore, with great submission, propose,

That a good strong fort be built at the *Wood-Creek*, or near it; it ought to be a regular fortification, because it is not impossible to bring great guns against it from *Crown-Point*, from whence they pour in their parties upon us in time of war. Here let there be a magazine of all kinds of warlike stores, both offensive and defensive, with snow-shoes, small hatchets, &c. This will

will in a great measure protect the country, and from thence a descent upon *Canada* may be very practicable.

That this fort be able to contain *five hundred* men in time of war, and in time of peace never less than *one hundred*.

That there be an addition of two independent companies, to the four already established here, from the highlands of *Scotland*; the wilder the better for a common garrison there.

That all the lands from *Fort-Nicholson* to *Fort-Anne*, that is, all the lands upon the *carrying-place* and those adjacent, be set apart for the use of such Highlanders only as will settle there, and to be properly assisted in their settling for the first two or three years. To each man and his wife one hundred acres; and to each single person, man, woman, or child, fifty acres; without fee or reward, to them and their heirs for ever.

That near this fort, at a proper distance, there be erected a small block-house, sufficient for thirty *Indians*, to be kept there on constant

constant pay, during a war ; *viz.* five, from each nation, to be relieved and regulated in such manner as the *Six Nations* themselves think most proper.

That a number of commissioners from all the colonies be appointed to meet yearly at *New York* or *Albany*, in order to fix their respective quotas for the general expence, and for erecting such other forts and block-houses, as may be thought necessary.

That those gentlemen, jointly, be fully impowered to lay out lands, (not already granted) most conveniently situated for a frontier. And as it seems very probable, that we shall very soon have a run of *Germans* this way, I should advise the laying out of those lands after the *New England* manner, in townships sufficient for sixty families at least ; to be granted to them and their heirs, without fee or reward, and clear of all taxes and quit-rents, for ten years at least.

That in each township there be erected a good strong church, with loop-holes, and a few field-pieces, which may serve for

for a retreat upon occasion. Or rather, let public notices, in the most authentic manner, be sent abroad to the Highlands of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Holland* where those emigrant *Germans* have their agents; that upon the arrival in this province of a number of families, not under thirty; which number, supposing five to a family, is sufficient to begin any settlement, and as many as any one ship should be allowed to import at a time; each person, young or old, shall be entitled to one hundred acres of good land, granted to them and their heirs, without fee, or any other incumbrance of taxes; or quit-rent, for the first ten years. Their passages, and some small additional helps towards their first settling, to be paid by the colonies jointly; or let each colony have its particular colony or township, in that country; provided always, that those lands be laid out so as to form a barrier. I would not have these townships altogether *Germans*, but alternate. *Philadelphia* may one day repent the vast importation of those people amongst them; they are most of them old soldiers. I have reason to know something of their spirit, having had some hand in disarming 600 of them upon account

count of a mutiny in this province; and it was my fortune to command some of them upon the expedition against *Canada* in 1711. A society of freemen, absolutely disclaiming the use of arms, and at the same time encouraging the introduction of vast numbers of old soldiers, and foreign too, who hardly know what the word **LIBERTY** means, is a contrast which *they* only can account for.

That a string of block-houses, be erected, so as to make the communication, or an alarm from one garrison, or block-house, to another, easy, by smokes properly disposed in the day-time, or by throwing up a number of rockets, or firing great guns in the night-time. Such an expedient would be of great use during the war, as the *Indians* never attack but by surprize, and would greatly discourage *Indian* enemy parties, as it would keep our own garrisons upon the watch, and our out-scouts to their duty. I do not think it at all impracticable, to convey an alarm from *Albany* to *New-York* in one night, if rockets or great guns were properly disposed and attended. Let us suppose, for example,

C a party

a party of *French* and *Indians* abroad, which seldom happens without being discovered by some out-scout or other ; upon discovery, if in the day-time, let there be one great smoke, and one great gun fired ; which, if taken up by the other garrisons, I am confident *that* party would hardly proceed. In order to discover what course the party may take, let there be three smokes, two pretty near to one another, and the third at a proper distance, either to the eastward or westward, &c. which will point out the course taken. This may be improved.

That in each of the *Six Nations* there be built a fort of some kind or other, where, and in what manner that particular nation best approves of.

That in the *Onondago* country, where their general councils are held, and the archives of the *Six Nations* are kept, something more than common be erected ; this will do honour to the *British* nation, and greatly encourage the *Indians*, especially in time of war, while their old men, women, and children are secure in a fort, with a small party

party of christians, their excursions will be more free and frequent: but this security ought to be left altogether to their own choice; whether, by erecting one single fortification for the retreat of the whole, (the *Senecas* I should chuse, being a fine country, where great encouragement ought to be given to settlers, and where the *Indians* are less tainted with christian vices); or whether each nation should have their proper retreat or security.

What has hitherto prevented our *Indians* in their excursions against the enemy, is, in my humble opinion, in a great measure owing to the apprehensions of having their castles cut off in their absence; they have been often threatened, and indeed at present they have nothing to trust to but their heels. And nothing, in my humble opinion, has prevented the attempt, but the resolutions of the *Cachnawages*, their principle fighters, (but deserters from our *Mohawks*) not to spill the blood of their relations and countrymen. And the same natural affection has prevented our *Indians* from doing, what I am confident they would have done, had they been sure not to

to have met with their friends and countrymen the *Cachnawages*. Proper methods, therefore, ought to be taken to recover those *Indians*; which, I conceive, is very far from impracticable.

The villainous treatment those poor people have met with at *Albany*, from the handlers, was the original cause of that desertion; and undoubtedly, for the same reasons, many more do and will desert, if proper remedies are not speedily applied.

For this purpose, I am to observe that, without a proper regulation of the trade, all other endeavours to gain and preserve the friendship of the *Indians* will avail but little. I shall not enter further into a discussion of the methods hitherto taken; but that those poor *Indians* have for many years been under the direction of the people of *Albany*, whose interest it was to deceive and defraud them; and that they have been deceived and defrauded accordingly, is notorious; instances in abundance might be produced, but they are really too shocking to relate. But that I may not be thought to talk without book, I shall

I shall here beg leave to insert the preamble to an act of the legislature here to encourage the Indian trade at *Albany*, 13th *Anne*. I have not heard of an act of the kind since, tho' the mischief has been daily increasing.

“ Whereas great endeavours have from time to time been used by her majesty’s governors and commanders in chief of this colony, to settle a trade, and to have commerce with such *Indian* nations as live beyond our five confederated nations; which, in process of time, might not only be very advantageous, but also of great security to the frontiers of this colony at or near *Albany*, in time of war; and several of the said *Indians* being lately come to the city of *Albany*, in order to trade with the inhabitants thereof; but several private persons, not regarding the safety of this colony, but only designing their own private lucre, have, and do daily, use many indirect means to engross the trade into their hands, by their contrivance with those who are employed by the said *Indians* to carry them in their waggons to *Albany*;

“ ny ; and having once gotten the peltry, “ beavers, or other furs, of the said *Indians*, in their possession, hinder them “ to make the best of their market, to the “ ruin of the said trade, and the alienation “ of the affections of the said *Indians* from “ this colony ; and instead of securing the “ friendship of the said *Indians*, will, if “ not prevented, cause them to be our ene- “ mies, &c.” This act to continue for two years.

The principles to be laid down in the management of our *Indians*, are, first, by all means to endeavour to under-sell the *French* ; and the next is, to do justice to the *Indians* in those sales. For which reason I should advise, that this trade, instead of being under the direction of the people of *Albany*, who are most of them, if not altogether, traders, or handlers, and whose interest it is, to take all advantages of those poor people, and that with impunity, as they have no body to complain to, the principal directors being all traders, and of course *Socii Criminis* ;

That

That it be put under the direction of one single person of capacity and integrity, of his majesty's appointment, during good behaviour, with a handsome allowance, in the nature of a *Superintendent of Indian affairs*, with full powers to do summary justice upon all occasions.

That he be debarr'd trading directly or indirectly, upon the severest penalties.

That he take his instructions from the governor and council; and report to them, at least twice a year, a state of *Indian affairs*, in order to be laid before his majesty, or the board of trade.

That he be obliged to make a tour through the *Six Nations*, once a year at least, with a proper equipage, and some small presents for the chief men; when and where he may receive complaints, and redress grievances.

In order to save the crown the expence of such an officer, I should advise, that as there are two surveyor generals of the customs upon this continent, at an allowance

ance of a Guinea a-day, and sixty pounds *Sterl.* yearly, each of them, for a clerk; that upon the demise of either, that officer be set apart for this use: one surveyor general is sufficient for all the purposes of the customs upon this continent; the officers being rather in the nature of preventive officers, that is, their chief business is to prevent any European goods being imported from any part but from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and to prevent the exportation of any of the enumerated commodities, to any parts, but to *Great-Britain*; this, I say, is the chief business of the officers upon this continent; and the several governors, upon their admission to their governments, are obliged, by act of parliament, to take an oath to see this duly executed. There are no revenues collected by the offices here, nor no accounts worth mentioning to comptroll. From hence I conclude, that one of those officers at least, may be very well spared for the above purpose, and much better employed.

That there be a handsome allowance made for two interpreters at least; one indeed for each nation, I should not think too

too much: One of them always to attend the principal officer.

That there be a smith appointed by the principal officer, with a proper allowance, in each nation, with two apprentices, in order to multiply interpreters, for want of which, I doubt, we have often been misled; and if those smiths were obliged to teach one or two *Indian* youths of the best capacities to read and write *English*, it might be of great use, as nothing is so much wanted as honest interpreters.

That every person employed by the public in this service, be prohibited trading, directly or indirectly, under severe penalties, and give security for the due execution of his duty; and to be on oath obliged to represent every grievance he conceives the *Indians* meet with from the traders. As all monopolies are the bane of trade, I would have this open and free for all his majesty's subjects; by this means a number of *Bush-lopers*, as the *Dutch* call them, and the *French*, who are indefatigable in this point, *Coureurs de bois*, are created; a set of men, who, from their acquaintance with

the woods and *Indians*, are very useful upon many occasions, especially in time of war.

That there be lodged in the hands of every smith, or agent for that purpose, *Indian* goods, to the value of £. — always by them, which they are to dispose of for the use of the public, according to invoices from *New York*, fixing the prices of the goods, as well as of the furs and skins, and by no means to exact further. This is the method, and the only method, I humbly conceive, by which we can undersel the *French*; and will be a means to regulate the whole *Indian* trade: and this is the method taken in the government of *New England*, in the following manner, *viz.*

By an act of the 12 Geo. it is enacted,
 " That provisions, cloathing, &c. suitable
 " for carrying on a trade with the *Indians*,
 " not exceeding the value of 4000 l. be pro-
 " cured at the cost and charge of the pro-
 " vince, and the produce applied for supply-
 " ing the *Indians*, by such persons as shall
 " be annually chosen, &c. and likewise an-
 " nually produce fair accounts of their pro-
 " ceedings;

“ ceedings ; which supplies shall be lodged
“ to the eastward, at, &c.

“ That a suitable person be chosen annually at each of the places where any of the goods, &c. are lodged, which truck-masters shall be under oath, and give sufficient security for the faithful discharge of that trust, and such instructions as they shall receive from time to time : and shall keep fair accounts of their trade and dealings with the *Indians* ; and shall return the same, together with the produce, to the person or persons who shall be appointed to supply them with goods. And they shall not trade with the *Indians*, directly or indirectly. That the truck-masters sell to the *Indians* at the price set in the invoices sent them from time to time, without any advance thereon ; and shall allow the *Indians* for their furs, and other goods, as the markets shall be at *Boston* ; according to the latest advices from the person or persons that shall supply them for the same commodities of equal goodness.

“ Rum

“ Rum to be given to the *Indians* in moderate quantities by the truck-masters only.

“ No person whatsoever, other than the truck-masters, and they only as such, shall or may presume by themselves, or any other for them, directly or indirectly, to sell, truck, barter, or exchange to any *Indian* or *Indians*, any wares, merchandizes, or provisions, within six miles of any truck-house, &c. on penalty of forfeiting 50*l.* or six months imprisonment.”

From this I have only to observe, that had our *Indian* trade been under such a regulation, or indeed any regulation at all, we should have less to apprehend at this day: and, that it is high time to make a beginning.

A grand fair yearly established in the *Six Nations*, to be kept alternately; to begin first in the *Onondago* country, the next year in the *Seneca* country, &c. of which all the nations, far and near, may have due notice; and where the super-intendant, or inspector-

inspector-general should always attend, might be of great use: and the prices of goods being fixed from the latest invoices from *New York*, it would be a great inducement to the far nations of *Indians*, as well as our own, to purchase, and would at the same time be a check upon the handlers at *Oswego*, as well as elsewhere. One essential article in our trade with the *Indians*, and upon which, in a great measure, their all depends, has been hitherto much neglected on our part; and that is, from us they have the cheapest *English* arms and ammunition, and of course the worst upon the face of the earth: the *French* take care to supply them with what is really good, and I believe at a cheaper rate than we can afford the best of ours; by which means I doubt, they will ever be able to undersell us in that essential article, unless some effectual methods are fallen upon to prevent it; such as allowing us the importation of a quantity of powder for that purpose only from *Holland*; the traders have attempted this to their cost. The *French* purchase *Indian* goods both in *Holland* and *England* for those very *Indians*. Why might not we be allowed the importation of powder and arms from

from *Holland* or *France*? Or why might we not manufacture our own powder in the *Mohawks* country, where saltpetre may be had in abundance, from those vast beds of pigeon-dung? In short, the *Indians* must have good powder and arms; and where the best is, there they will go; and, according to the present situation of things, they will depend upon the *French* for it. Could we get the better of this one article, all that attachment and intercourse our *Indians* have at present with *Canada*, would, I am confident, soon be at an end.

That instead of supporting this trade by way of licence, which has hitherto been but oddly managed, that there be a duty, applicable only to *Indian* affairs, and thrown into the joint stock, upon all *Indian* goods exported either by land or water; and likewise upon all furs and skins imported, under the direction of the officers of his majesty's customs: those appointed by the country, have generally more regard to their friends than their duty. This has been formerly practised here, and I humbly conceive will answer every purpose much better. As this affair will create a yearly expence, such

such as no one colony can well bear, let there be a scheme prepared for each colony's paying their proportion. Most certain it is, as I have before observed, that if ever *New York, Albany, and Hudson's river*, should get into other hands, every other colony would soon follow ; and while that is secure, every other colony is secure. If this is true, is it possible to doubt but that they will readily comply ? In answer to that trite objection, *viz.* as we have all the trade, we ought to be at all the expence : in God's name let each contributing colony have its township upon the frontiers, with proper magazines, and one or more trading houses, and a sloop, and make the most of it..

The

The names of the provinces that form the republic of *Holland*, with their several rates towards the yearly expence of the government, according to the proportion of 100 guilders, and the order in which their deputies to the States General vote, are as follows:

| | | Guil. | Sti. | Den. |
|---|---|-------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Gelderland</i> , with the co. of | | | | |
| <i>Zutphen</i> , - | | 5 | 12 | 3 |
| <i>Holland</i> , with <i>West-Friesland</i> , | | 58 | 6 | $2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| or <i>North-Holland</i> , | | | | |
| <i>Zealand</i> , - | | 9 | 3 | 8 |
| <i>Utrecht</i> , - | | 5 | 16 | 5 |
| <i>Friesland</i> , - | | 11 | 13 | 2 |
| <i>Overyssel</i> , - | | 3 | 11 | 5 |
| <i>Groningen</i> , with the <i>Omlands</i> , | 5 | 16 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| | | | | |
| | | 100 | 0 | 0 |

[This may serve for a model.]

We have been at an infinite expence from the beginning of times, in fortifying, and in presents to the *Indians*, with very little assistance from our neighbour colonies; a charge which we are hardly able to bear, and most unreasonable, as every other colony

ny upon the continent is, in some degree or other, concerned in the preservation of the friendship of the *Indians*, and the security of our frontiers. This, however, has been but palliating matters, and doing things by halves: Whenever the colonies think fit to join, *Indian* affairs will wear quite another aspect. The very name of such a confederacy will greatly encourage our *Indians*, and strike terror into the *French*, and be a means to prevent their unsupportable incroachments, which they daily make with impunity and insult; and this is what they have long dreaded.

A long series of ill usage from the traders, has given the *Indians* but a very indifferent opinion of our morals; and of late, from the several abortive expeditions, they begin, I doubt, to suspect our courage; than which, nothing can more affect our interest with them. They of themselves are honest, such at least as have not been debauched by the Christians, and brave in their way, and despise knaves and cowards. It will, therefore, require some address, and not a little expence to recover our character.

If all this is to no purpose, and that they will still stand out; let us not, I say, despair but that, upon a proper representation to his majesty, of the absolute impossibility for this colony, alone, to be at the expence of putting and keeping *Indian* affairs upon such a footing as they really ought to be, his majesty, from his wonted goodness, will, undoubtedly, not only assist us himself, but oblige the other colonies to assist us; in proof of which paternal care, give me leave here to insert some of his instructions to our late governor *Montgomerie*, in 1727, upon this very point.

Instruction 83. ' Whereas it has been thought requisite, that the general security of our plantations upon the continent of *America* be provided for by a contribution, in proportion to the respective abilities of each plantation: and whereas the northern frontiers of the province of *New York*, being most exposed to an enemy, do require an extraordinary charge for the erecting and maintaining of forts necessary for the defence thereof: And whereas orders were given by King *William* the third, for the advancing £. 500

‘ flor-

‘ Sterling, towards a fort in the *Onondago* country, and of £. 2000 sterling towards building the forts at *Albany* and *Schenectady*; and likewise by letters under his royal sign manual, directed to the governors of divers of the plantations, to recommend to the councils and general assemblies of said plantations, that they respectively furnish a proportionable sum towards the fortifications on the northern frontiers of our said province of *New York*, viz.

R. Island, and Providence

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|------|---|---|
| Plantations, | £. | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Connecticut</i> , — — — — | £. | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Pensylvania</i> , — — — — | £. | 350 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Maryland</i> , | £. | 650 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Virginia</i> , | £. | 900 | 0 | 0 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Making together | £. | 2500 | 0 | 0 |

‘ And whereas we have thought fit to direct, that you also signify to our province of *Nova Cæsarea*, or *New-Jersey*, that the sums which we have at present thought fit to be contributed by them, if not already done, in proportion to what has been directed, to be supplied by our other

' other plantations, as aforesaid, are £. 250
 ' sterling for the division of *East-New-*
 ' *Jersey*: and £. 250 sterling for the division
 ' of *West-New-Jersey*: you are, therefore,
 ' to inform yourself what has been done
 ' therein, and what remains further to be
 ' done, and to send an account thereof to
 ' us, and to our commissioners for trade and
 ' plantations, as aforesaid.

84th. ' And you are also, in our name,
 ' instantly to recommend to our council,
 ' and the general assembly of our said pro-
 ' vince of *New-York*, that they exert the
 ' utmost of their power, in providing,
 ' without delay, what further shall be re-
 ' quisite for preparing, erecting and main-
 ' taining of such forts in all parts of that
 ' province, as you and they shall agree
 ' upon.

85th. ' And you are likewise to signify
 ' to our said council, and the said general
 ' assembly, that for further encouragement,
 ' that besides the contributions to be made
 ' towards the raising and maintaining of
 ' forts and fortifications on that frontier, as
 ' abovementioned, it is our will and plea-
 ' sure,

‘ sure, in case the said frontier be at any
 ‘ time invaded by an enemy, the neigh-
 ‘ bouring colonies and plantations upon the
 ‘ continent shall make good, in men, or
 ‘ money in lieu thereof, their quota of as-
 ‘ sistance, according to the following repar-
 ‘ tition, *viz.*

| | Men, |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Massachusetts-Bay,</i> | 350 |
| <i>New-Hampshire,</i> | 40 |
| <i>Rhode-Island,</i> | 48 |
| <i>Connecticut,</i> | 120 |
| <i>New-York,</i> | 200 |
| <i>East-Jersey,</i> | 60 |
| <i>West-New-Jersey,</i> | 60 |
| <i>Pensylvania,</i> | 80 |
| <i>Maryland,</i> | 160 |
| <i>Virginia,</i> | 240 |
| ————— | |
| <i>Making together</i> | <i>1358</i> |

‘ Pursuant whereunto you are, as occa-
 ‘ sion requires, to call for the same; and in
 ‘ case of any invasion upon the neighbour-
 ‘ ing plantations, you are, upon application
 ‘ of the respective governors thereof, to be
 ‘ aiding and assisting to them, in the best
 ‘ manner

‘ manner you can ; and as the condition of
‘ your government will permit.’

As to this instruction, his majesty, I doubt, has not been thoroughly informed, because, upon an invasion, considering the distance and dilatoriness of assemblies, the mischief, in all probability, would be over before we could have any assistance. I should, therefore, think it adviseable, that those proportions be immediately detached to the frontiers, upon the first news of a war ; there to remain, and to be recruited during the war, at the expence of the said colonies. I shudder to think what would have been the fate of *Albany*, had not those troops, designed against *Canada*, been accidentally there ; more especially as the people of *Albany*, at that time, were afflicted with an epidemical distemper, which carried off great numbers.

From hence his majesty’s care is apparent ; and why those instructions have not been hitherto duly observed, is what I shall not take upon me to determine : I cannot, however, help thinking, that, from upwards of forty years observations upon the conduct

conduct of our colony assemblies, and the little regard paid by them to instructions, if it is left altogether to them, the whole will end in altercation and words. By the above instructions it appears that his majesty is fully apprized of the consequences of leaving this colony unguarded, as well as of its inability to answer his most gracious intentions.

I should therefore advise, that the quotas be doubled, which they can now very well bear; and both the *Carolinas* added, and the whole enforced by an act of the *British* legislature.

In that case, if this present scheme, or something like it, (as I am very far from thinking, but that it will admit of many improvements, and for that purpose it is offered) is duly executed, I will venture to prophecy, that in 20 years the whole fur trade will be in *British* hands, and that the fur trade company in *Canada* will sink, upon which the very being of that country depends.

I have only further, with great submissi-
on, to advise, that the meeting of the *In-
dians*

dians be alternate; one year at *New-York*, which will add but very little to the expence, and where the commissioners from those contributing colonies may more conveniently attend, and where, it is to be hoped, the *Indians* may receive some better impressions of our people, than they have hitherto done at *Albany*; the next year any where, but at *Albany* or *Schenectady*: That the presents made upon those occasions, as soon as viewed, and divided by the particular nations, be packed up again, in such manner, as may make the carriage the easiest, of which they themselves will be the best judges, and locked up, and the keys to be delivered to the principal Sachem of each nation, and not to be opened till they arrive in their own country. I believe, I may venture to affirm, that the greatest part of those presents made them upon those solemn occasions, seldom go further than *Albany* or *Schenectady*, but are bought up by the handlers for rum, and afterwards sold to them when sober, at a dear rate. I would propose this method, being well assured, there is no law can be contrived, or oath framed, to bind a handler.

[*So much for our Northern frontiers.*]

As

AS to our southern frontiers, the city, &c. I mean of *New York*, let those be altogether under the direction, and at the expence of the colony of *New York*; hoping withal, his majesty will be graciously pleased to favour us with a small detachment of gunners, and one engineer, for some time at least, together with some artillery and ammunition. Large sums have been expended, or rather squandered away on this account, by the country, to very little purpose.

Let there be two batteries erected at the *Narrows*, one on each side, in proper places, and with breast-works only; any fortifications there may fall into the enemy's hands, and have bad consequences. These batteries to be under the care of the adjoining counties; that on the east side, under the care of the regiment of *King's* county; and that on the west side, under the care of the regiment of *Richmond* county.

Our utmost endeavours must be, in the first place, to prevent the enemy's landing; and also, in the next place, to prevent a bombardment. For this purpose it may be

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necessary, narrowly to view the coast below the two first batteries. Should an enemy land at or near *New Utrecht*, the march is easy, even with cannon, from thence to the ferry, of which we should soon feel the effects. Low batteries, as I would have all those to be, even with the water if possible, at *Red* or *Yellow Hook*, will be a means to prevent a bombardment, and the enemy's landing upon *Long Island*. A small battery upon *Kennedy's Island* may be of use. Let there be several small batteries fixed round *Nutten Island*, of heavy cannon, and it were to be wished they were all such; and one strong intrenchment in the middle for a number of troops.

At the east end of the town, a good battery will be necessary, as well as several along *Hudson's River*.

I would not have any of those batteries exceed five guns; but to be placed the thicker. Ships generally aim at one battery at a time. Besides, it is impossible to know where a ship may lie. In this case, it is odds but some of our batteries may take her up.

Breast-

Breast-works with block-houses, instead of stockadoes, would answer all purposes much better, be much less expence, and last longer.

As to the fort, and the lower batteries, they are altogether ill designed, and as badly executed. But as our late engineer has reported to his excellency, the failures and the improvements that may be made, so as to resist any sudden attack, to that I refer.

It is a constant rule, that every detached work, however insignificant in itself, should have its ammunition at hand, to be come at without difficulty or danger; one hundred weight of powder to each gun.

The regiments of *Suffolk*, *Queen's* and *King's* counties, *Richmond* and *Westchester*, will be force sufficient to defend the city, if they can be brought together with regularity and certainty; to which, however, may be added, the militia of *Connecticut* and *Essex* county. Let all the other counties bend their force towards the frontiers.

Beacons,

Beacons, or rather smokes, in the daytime, and rockets or great guns in the night, for this purpose, will be absolutely necessary. It will be no great difficulty to carry an alarm to the east end of *Long Island*, to *Richmond* county and *Westchester* at the same time, in a very few hours ; upon which, every man that keeps a horse, ought to make the best of his way to the city, and not to wait forming into companies till they arrive at the city ; where I will suppose the colonel, or lieutenant colonel, to be forming them, whilst the other, who may have full power to press horses, is bringing up the rear ; where transportation is necessary, the city to take care to have boats at the proper landings.

During a war, let there be one stout floop of war provided at the expence of the governments of *Rhode Island*, *Connecticut*, *New York*, *New Jersey*, and *Pensylvania* ; one other at the expence of *North* and *South Carolinas*, *Virginia* and *Maryland* ; and one at the expence of the *Massachusetts*, *New Hampshire*, *Halifax*, and *Nova Scotia* : which, if under proper regulations, together with

with the station ships, will be sufficient to protect our trade. Give me leave to prophesy, that, in case of a war, we shall sorely repent it, if timely provision is not made against the efforts of the people of *Cape Breton*, and upon our settlements from *Crown Point*.

If these things, or something of this kind, perhaps from an abler hand, be duly considered and executed during the calm of a peace, we shall have little to apprehend from an enemy. What I most apprehend is the old proverb, *What's every body's business is no body's business*. But let those gentlemen, I mean our general assemblies, with whom we have intrusted the care of our lives and liberties, answer, if they can, either to God or man, a neglect of their duty, in a matter of so much importance to themselves, their fellow-subjects and posterity. *Dulce est pro patriâ mori*, is an old *Roman* maxim ; and though I have not at present any thoughts of dying for my country, yet I have a real satisfaction in imagining, whether in reality or not I cannot say, that I have pointed out some things, which, if observed, may prevent a good deal of bloodshed,

bloodshed, &c. of which I wash my hands clear, and leave it at the doors of those whose proper business it is to look out in time.



The author of the foregoing ESSAY, having desired the printer to communicate the manuscript to some of the most judicious of his friends, it produced the following letter from one of them: the publishing whereof, we think, needs no other apology, viz.

Philadelphia, March
Dear Mr Parker, 20, 1751.

IHAVE, as you desire, read the manuscript you sent me, and am of opinion, with the publick-spirited author, that securing the friendship of the *Indians* is of the greatest consequence to these colonies; and that the surest means of doing it, are, to regulate the *Indian* trade, so as to convince them, by experience, that they may have the best and cheapest goods, and the fairest dealings from the *English*; and to unite

unite the several governments, so as to form a strength that the *Indians* may depend on for protection, in case of a rupture with the *French*; or apprehend great danger from, if they should break with us.

This union of the colonies, however necessary, I apprehend is not to be brought about by the means that have hitherto been used for that purpose. A governor of one colony, who happens from some circumstances in his own government, to see the necessity of such an union, writes his sentiments of the matter to the other governors, and desires them to recommend it to their respective assemblies. They accordingly lay the letters before those assemblies, and perhaps recommend the proposal in general words. But governors are often on ill terms with their assemblies, and seldom are the men that have the most influence among them. And perhaps some governors, though they openly recommend the scheme, may privately throw cold water on it, as thinking additional public charges will make their people less able, or less willing to give to them. Or perhaps they do not clearly see the necessity of it, and therefore do

do not very earnestly press the consideration of it: and no one being present that has the affair at heart to back it, to answer and remove objections, &c. it is easily dropp'd, and nothing is done. Such an union is certainly necessary to us all, but more immediately so to our government. Now, if you were to pick out half a dozen men of good understanding and address, and furnish them with a reasonable scheme and proper instructions, and send them in the nature of ambassadors to the other colonies, where they might apply particularly to all the leading men, and by proper management get them to engage in promoting the scheme; where, by being present, they would have the opportunity of pressing the affair both in public and private, obviating difficulties as they arise, answering objections as soon as they are made, before they spread and gather strength in the minds of the people, &c. &c. I imagine such an union might thereby be made and established: for reasonable sensible men, can always make a reasonable scheme appear such to other reasonable men, if they take pains, and have time and opportunity for it; unless from some circumstances their honesty and good intentions

intentions are suspected. A voluntary union entered into by the colonies themselves, I think, would be preferable to one imposed by parliament; for it would be perhaps not much more difficult to procure, and more easy to alter and improve, as circumstances should require, and experience direct. It would be a very strange thing, if *Six Nations* of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such an union, and be able to execute it in such a manner, as that it has subsisted ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen *English* colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous; and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests.

Were there a general council form'd by all the colonies, and a general governor appointed by the crown to preside in that council, or in some manner to concur with and confirm their acts, and take care of the execution; every thing relating to Indian affairs and the defence of the colonies, might be properly put under the management. Each colony should be represented

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by as many members as it pays sums of hundred pounds in the common treasury for the common expence; which treasury would perhaps be best and most equitably supply'd, by an equal excise on strong liquors in all the colonies, the produce never to be apply'd to the private use of any colony, but to the general service. Perhaps if the council were to meet successively at the capitals of the several colonies, they might thereby become better acquainted with the circumstances, interests, strength or weakness, &c. of all, and thence be able to judge better of measures proposed from time to time: at least it might be more satisfactory to the colonies, if this were proposed as a part of the scheme; for a preference might create jealousy and dislike.

I believe the place mentioned is a very suitable one to build a fort on. In times of peace, parties of the garrisons of all frontier forts might be allowed to go out on hunting expeditions, with or without *Indians*, and have the profit to themselves of the skins they get: by this means a number of wood-runners would be form'd, well acquaintad with the country, and of great

great use in the war time, as guides of parties and scouts, &c. Every *Indian* is a hunter, and as their manner of making war, *viz.* by skulking, surprizing and killing particular persons and families, is just the same as their hunting, only changing the object, every *Indian* is a disciplin'd soldier. Soldiers of this kind are always wanted in the colonies in an *Indian* war; for the *European* military discipline is of little use in these woods.

Public trading houses would certainly have a good effect towards regulating the private trade, and preventing the impositions of the private traders, and therefore such should be established in suitable places all along the frontiers; and the superintendent of the trade, proposed by the author, would, I think, be a useful officer.

The observation concerning the importation of *Germans* in too great numbers into *Pensylvania* is, I believe, a very just one. This will in a few years become a *German* colony: instead of their learning our language, we must learn theirs, or live as in a foreign country. Already the *English* begin
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to quit particular neighbourhoods surrounded by *Dutch*, being made uneasy by the disagreeableness of dissonant manners; and, in time, numbers will probably quit the province for the same reason. Besides, the *Dutch* under-live, and are thereby enabled to under-work and undersell the *English*; who are thereby extremely incommoded, and consequently disgusted, so that there can be no cordial affection or unity between the two nations. How good subjects they may make, and how faithful to the *British* interest, is a question worth considering. And, in my opinion, equal numbers might have been spared from the *British* islands without being missed there, and on proper encouragement would have come over. I say without being missed, perhaps I might say without lessening the number of people at home. I question indeed, whether there be a man the less in *Britain* for the establishment of the colonies. An island can support but a certain number of people: when all employments are full, multitudes refrain marriage, till they can see how to maintain a family. The number of *Englishmen* in *England*, cannot by their present common increase be doubled in a thousand years;

years ; but if half of them were taken away and planted in *America*, where there is room for them to increase, and sufficient employment and subsistence, the number of *Englishmen* would be doubled in 100 years ; for those left at home would multiply in that time so as to fill up the vacancy, and those here would at least keep pace with them.

Every one must approve the proposal of encouraging a number of sober discreet smiths to reside among the *Indians*. They would doubtless be of great service. The whole subsistence of *Indians* depends on keeping their guns in order ; and if they are obliged to make a journey of two or three hundred miles to an *English* settlement to get a lock mended, it may, besides the trouble, occasion the loss of their hunting season. They are people that think much of their temporal, but little of their spiritual interests ; and therefore, as he would be a most useful and necessary man to them, a smith is more likely to influence them than a jesuit ; provided he has a good common understanding, and is from time to time well instructed.

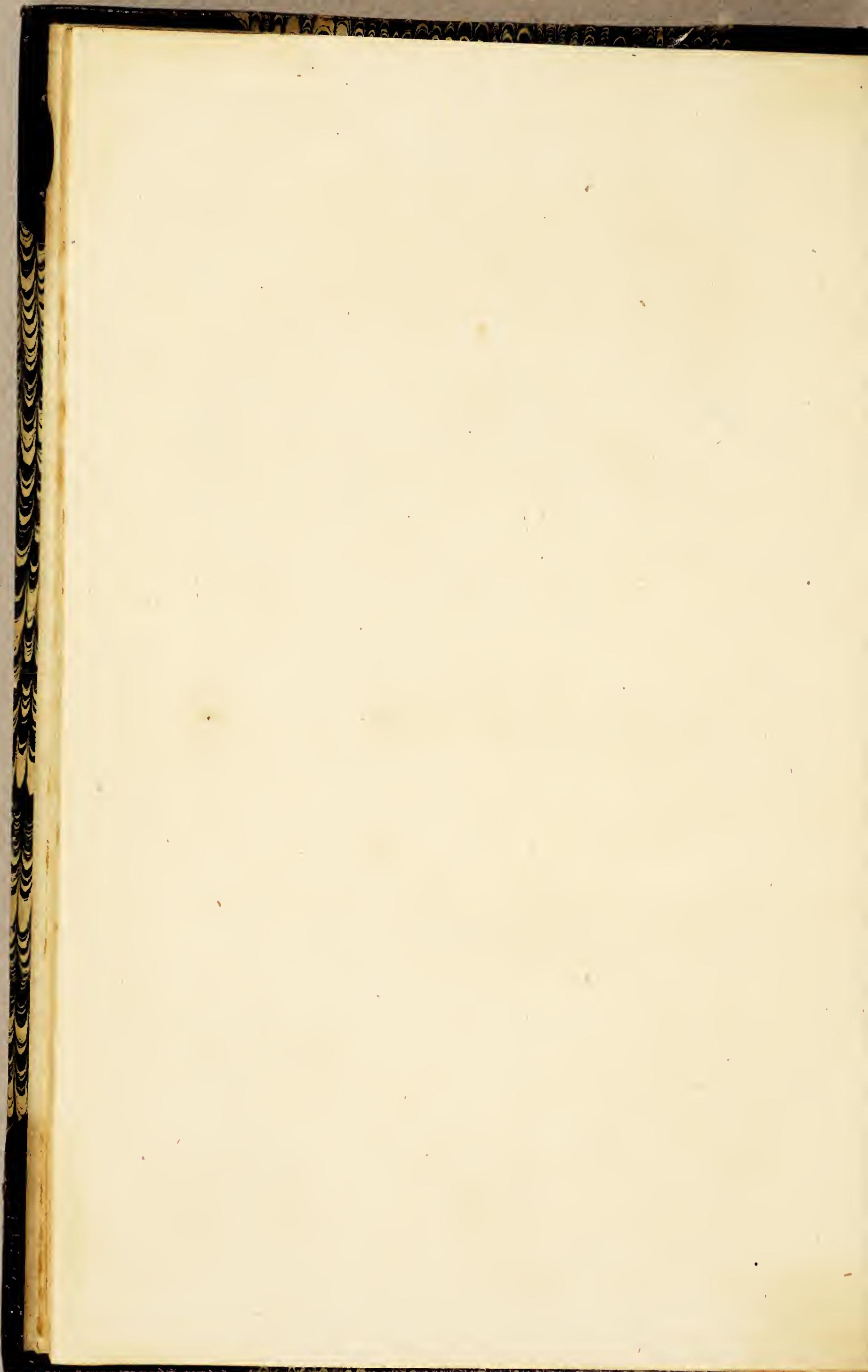
I wish

I wish I could offer any thing for the improvement of the author's piece, but I have little knowledge, and less experience in these matters. I think it ought to be printed; and should be glad to see there were a more general communication of the sentiments of judicious men, on subjects so generally interesting; it would certainly produce good effects. Please to present my respects to the gentleman, and thank him for the perusal of the manuscript.

I am

Yours affectionately.

F I N I S.



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